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IMAGES ON MAY DAY SINGLE ISSUE NEWSPAPERS (1891-1924): THEIR FUNCTION AND MEANINGS

Around 1890, political graphic art in Italy enjoyed a period of creativity and was the focus of widespread interest. Modern printing methods were introduced abolishing the condition of technological backwardness that had been hindering the dissemination of popular periodicals [1]. In addition, from the 1890s onwards, photomechanical reproduction processes — including photographs — made the publication of illustrated papers financially and technically easier [2].

The sheets published by the organizations of the democratic and socialist Left had suffered particularly from the difficulties connected with the manual reproduction of drawings and photographs, and had offered low-quality products. This situation of inferiority, which ceased only at the last decade of the century, was caused by the precarious nature of the equipment installed in the printers' offices where 'subversive' publications were produced, by political repression and by lack of funds, which prevented work being commissioned from professional draftsmen and illustrators.

To the technical and financial problems were added the pressure of continuous censorship and the fact that illiteracy drastically reduced the potential readership. Nevertheless the democratic and socialist press developed notably between 1880 and the end of the century, especially the publications connected with the new *Partito dei lavoratori* [3].

The left-wing papers had an extraordinary territorial dissemination, touching every region of the country, and became precious propaganda instruments for the 'Idea'. It was this propagandistic focus, sometimes with a preaching tone, that encouraged the effort to complete the letter-press with easy-to-read images that would probably

have the strongest impact on people who were semi — or even completely illiterate.

A significant sample for an analysis of political graphic art and the various iconographic choices of the left between the end of the century and the advent of fascism, are the single issues of papers produced for May-Day. In the context of the research project on May-Day promoted by the Fondazione Brodolini in Milan, a bibliography of the publications produced in Italy for the workers' holiday preserved in libraries in Milan and the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, is now being printed. About three hundred papers have been found, covering the whole national territory; despite understandable differences, these make up a whole with fairly homogeneous features. The indexing of the papers, which has been done by article, has revealed the propaganda and didactic aim of the texts, besides their attention to specific local issues and the concerns of the group which promoted their publication.

In addition to the index of articles, an iconographic index has also been prepared in order to analyze the papers' illustrations, which are collected in the volume with photographic reproductions.

The first significant fact to emerge from the indexing is the large number of images. Roughly one third of the publications found are illustrated, nearly always around the title and, in half the cases, with more than two pictures on the inside pages as well. Only the minor publications, with only one or two pages, are without illustrations — these were sheets produced in depressed geographical areas or in other situations where financial resources were lacking. The presence of colour — red is frequent, followed by green and sometimes blue or ochre — is largely dependent on the technical resources of the printers' office, the finances available and the political weight of the group supporting the publication.

In 1890 — the year in which the first illustrated single issues appeared — the techniques for printing illustrations mechanically had already been perfected, and photographs could be reproduced by the photomechanical processes of halftone screen printing or line printing [4]. The May-Day publications generally used the new photomechanical procedure, but limited themselves to the reproduction of engravings or original drawings. The use of photography — portraits, exceptional events or, more often, paintings — was to become common only a few years later, with results that were technically still inadequate. Until World War II, in fact, photography was

almost never used by the Italian Left in order to document social reality and the workers' struggles. The fact that its use was limited to portraits indicates that the enormous alternative potentialities of the photographic medium for visual communication had not been grasped.

The dimensions of the images in the May Day issues are very variable. The drawings for the title generally follow the graphic design of the paper's name or are more modestly limited to plaquettes decorated with vegetal motifs on the left-hand margin of the sheet. Drawings and engravings may be full-page, with margins shaped to facilitate the insertion of letter-press: or conversely they may be reduced to a decorated initial. All this is done using the wide freedom allowed by the technique itself: for each image a separate plate was produced which could be of any size and inserted anywhere on the page. The modern graphic device of a fixed grid layout for images was almost unknown.

A coherent paging plan for text and illustrations exists only in the rare cases where the paper was produced by a real publishing house, for example Nerbini of Florence with its *Garofano rosso*.

As regards the relation between letter-press and image, the aim was generally to provide illustrations that would be an integral part of the articles. Where the drawing was not done specially for the text, the most suitable subject was chosen among already existing plates. For this reason we often find the same image used again, even several years later or in different papers.

But what are the typical subjects, the iconographic and stylistic choices for the May Day images? In 1890, when the workers' holiday was celebrated for the first time and had not yet become a set theme of socialist imagery, in Italy — as elsewhere — a specific iconography of the democratic and working-class movement already existed [5]. This combined original aspects largely inspired by the realist tradition in art — with classical and masonic themes, plus a strong influence of popular Catholic iconology. These alternating iconographic guidelines reappeared in the images specifically devised for May Day, but in this case a definite preference emerged for allegorical/symbolic compositions and classicizing personifications over realistic representations.

So the workers' holiday, both as a day of struggle and as a celebration, was part of a pre-existing visual context. To this was added the problem of *representing* May Day with images that would symbolically render its ideological contents, sometimes divergent and generally still

fluid in definition (a debate soon arose within the Italian Left about the meaning of the holiday)[6].

The Milanese executive committee for the May Day celebrations, which included the most advanced figures of socialism, in 1891 inaugurated the custom of illustrating the titles of the special issues. For the first publication dedicated to May Day, *1° Maggio* (Ill. 1), the image chosen was an elegant allegory in which the boy «watching the new dawn» — as the leading article explained — symbolizes humanity moving towards a future illuminated by social justice. The academically-posed shepherd lad shading his eyes with a gesture came from the expert pen of a leading member of the late «Milanese Scapigliatura» movement, Vespasiano Bignami[7]. A democratic artist and intellectual, Bignami got round the problem of a possible allegorical personification of the holiday by instead proposing a model — the figure looking towards the future — of classical derivation, dressed in the medieval style costume typical of Scapigliatura romanticism. The suggestion of spring given by the flowers and swallows that complete the composition was to become a constant of democratic iconography, and of May Day illustrations in particular, recurring most often in the publications of the Milanese socialists. Bignami's lad returned in the title of *Figli del Popolo*, a single issue published in Milan in June 1893.

The title of *1° Maggio*, published in 1892 by the same Milanese executive committee, is illustrated by one of the most incisive and complex images to appear in the single issues analyzed (Ill. 2). The young socialist illustrator Arturo Taddio[8] has worked out a realistic and detailed representation of a procession of celebrating workers, enlivened by flags we may suppose are red, and the Italian tricolour, winding as far as the eye can see towards the centre of the title. The illustration has been printed from a wood-cut block on red paper[9].

Taddio's drawing poses a problem concerning its real reference: in 1891 there do not seem to have been May Day manifestations of such an impressive size, so it is unlikely that the drawing refers directly to the real typology of a Labour Day procession of the previous year[10]. The realism of the scene, the careful physiognomic characterizations, and the concern shown for the details of the clothing, do however indicate a sort of direct contact with real events. This can be traced back to other manifestations, such as strikes or even Risorgimento-type processions, specifically suggested by the presence of at least three national flags. Taddio's anti-literary realism and

descriptive aim were not, however, followed up: in its subsequent development, the theme of the procession, which recurs several times, had an allegorical or even epic character which ultimately became a stereotype [11].

Its last metamorphosis was the allegorical female figure, with a fluttering flag and Phrygian cap, leading the procession of young, semi-nude heroes in the commemorative postcards of the beginnings of this century — once more, allegorical images triumphed over figurative realism.

The use of allegories, symbolic language and superabundant classical quotations is typical not only of the images but also of the driving rhetoric of the texts. These were soon characterized by a new religiosity of which Labour day became one of the major rites. So the illustrators devised allegorical compositions containing explicit formal references to popular religious themes or customs such as «Redemption» (Ill. 3) and «Pealing Bells», drawn by Luigi Conconi for *Lotta di Classe*. The cover of *1° Maggio*, a single issue published in 1892 in Venice (Ill. 4), on the other hand, presents a motif taken from the iconography of the French Revolution, a column surmounted by a Winged Victory [12]; around which celebrating workers, peasants and women have gathered. The rising sun is also in evidence, with rays bearing inscriptions that provide a key for reading the whole scene: «liberty», «equality», «fraternity», «emancipation of labour», «justice», «solidarity». In the shadow, «the exploitation of wage-earners». Rodolfo Paoletti [13] has completed his composition by inserting a palm frond on the left, as a symbol of peace.

A wealth of propaganda initiatives converged round May Day, from the publication of single issues to the coining of medals and badges, the production of decorated watches, cards and holographs sold through the papers, and, of course, posters. Among the latter, and example disseminated by *Il Futuro Sociale*, a Roman special numer of 1894, is particularly interesting — the centre pages of the paper itself could be opened up to make a poster or a 'picture' suitable for framing. The poster, entiltled *Il Primo Maggio dei lavoratori* (Ill. 5), carries the illustrions signature of Gabriele Galantara [14] and is one of his first works as an illustrator. Galantara had taken the allegories of Walter Crane [15] as a starting point for his drawing of a female figure personifying «The Socialistic Idea», as the caption below the image states. The only non-realistic element in the composition, she indicates the «way ahead» to the crowd that has gathered on a grassy

hill. Carrying work-tools, dressed in workers and peasants Sunday best with worn faces and hands held out to the sun of «proletarian emancipation», the people behind her are still far from the «worker-hero», type that would be developed in the following years. It is a pity that the uncertain and clumsy transposition of Galantara's original drawing onto a plate — the work of the engraver Cosmelli — should have negatively affected its graphic quality. The composition can nevertheless be considered the model for other similar allegories on the same theme and with an analogous iconographic structure. The explanatory inscriptions included in the drawing — on the ribbons twisting round the allegorical figure and in the rising sun — are intended to make its symbolic content easy to decode.

From poster to illustrated hand-bill: this was the case of the supplement to *La Terra* (Ill. 6) the first issue of which appeared for May Day in 1898. Giuseppe Scalarini [16] used the limited space of the sheet for a hilarious comic-strip in eleven frames with captions, a penetrating satire of the Italian political system based on a successful «astronomical» pun using the name of the paper («The Earth»). Complex and original contributions like this sheet by the youthful Scalarini are however happy exceptions. Italian political graphic art of the period tended to ignore satire in favour of more or less original symbolical images or allegories, closer to the tastes and visual culture of the publishers and readers.

The illustrations in the Catholic papers produced for May Day (and also for 15 May, the date of the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*) are absolutely traditional. In 1898 the Federazione Universitaria Cattolica Italiana at Pavia printed a single issue with the title illustrated by the traditional model of the frieze running to the left and then above the text (Ill.7). The drawing displays a certain graphic skill and combines elements of Catholic and socialist iconography. The composition is dominated by a trophy made up of a ribbon carrying as a title the motto «Fides, Scientia et Patria», a wooden cross, papal escutcheons, palm fronds and a spade. The latter rests on the hammer and anvil which denotes the social significance of the drawing. The use of the trophy motif is typical of Christian iconography, where we find it composed of the instruments of the Passion, and it often recurs in socialist graphic art with spades, torches, ears of corn, and, after 1917, the hammer and sickle replacing the original elements [17].

The special May Day publications for women and children, usually written by women, deserve separate discussion. Considered a side-

issue, a by-product of the «social question», of women's rights were subordinated by the most active socialist women themselves to the great issues of proletarian struggle, and anyway always linked to the outcome of the new social pact. The recurrent images in the women's papers are the result of a strange mixture of socialist iconography (the rising sun, allegories of labour, industrial landscapes) and romantic feminine attributes («Eterno femminino»). So we find rosebuds, angel-like virginal profiles set against the rising sun, and, in particular, allegorical personifications of Justice, Liberty and Socialism, in which the faces and bodies of women take on wider meanings, almost representations of the woman of the future.

The children's papers are heavily illustrated. They are real gift albums, sometimes in colour, with contributions by famous artists and writers. Here the imagery of the women's papers is extended to include an idealized infancy, always portrayed in flowery fields and opposed to images of abandoned children. For the latter, paintings were reproduced, since the subject of derelict children was an important theme of Italian Verist art in the second half of the 19th century. The outcome is a series of publications without any great stylistic or graphic homogeneity, but with a wealth of illustrations based on the contrast between the present condition of children and an idealized future childhood.

There are also images of childhood in other special publications for May Day. The cover of the single issue published in Rome in 1899, for instance, emphasizes the festive aspect of the day by presenting a scene of children picnicking amid flowers, discreetly watched by a pair of *carabinieri*. After the end of the century, May Day in fact accentuated its festive identity, as opposed to its militant aspect. The workers' promenade and the picnic in the country had already become a peaceful custom, accepted by the authorities as well. The loss of the militant tone of the day was denounced by Turati himself as a danger and experienced as an embarassment by the leading figures of Italian socialism. For this reason, images like the one described above are very rare in socialist papers and were never to become part of the traditional May Day iconography.

In 1900 the first of the most prestigious series of special May Day publications appeared: the socialist *Il garofano rosso*, published by Nerbini in Florence [18]. The paper is richly illustrated with engravings, reproductions of paintings, and drawings specially created by artists who at the time enjoyed a certain reputation in the field of illustra-

tion and graphic art. Giovanni Crotta [19], Virgilio Faini [20], Giovanni Costetti [21], and Daniele Bongini [22] are recurrent signatures below the illustrations. The deep-red carnations on the title, beside the portraits of Marx, Engels and Lassalle, were copied by other publications and simplified in line, following the new stylistic tendencies, but the original remains unsurpassed for its successful union of text, decorative background motif of small flowers, and colour splash of petals. From the first issue the rule was followed of devoting the front page, below the title design, to a large, specially drawn picture, usually illustrating the great political event of the year or an aspect of Marxist doctrine. Inside, linked to texts of political propaganda, short stories and poems, are other images in which allegories and symbols predominate. Some of the drawings came to *Il garofano rosso* from previous publications, and in its turn the paper re-used them in following years. This was the case of Crotta's allegory showing Capitalism drowning while the ship of Socialism sails in from the sea guided by winged figures, which first appeared in 1900.

In the 1905 edition, the large illustration on the front page (Ill. 8) refers to the difficult period experienced by Italian socialism following the election results of October 1904 and Giolitti's resignation. «The workers proceed proud and strong... they are not dismayed by partial defeats, nor does the great reactionary alliance depress them», affirms the long caption, which reads like the summary of a political statement. The theme of the procession reappears, this time seen almost frontally and already typified in the stereotype of the positive hero, marching in front with a flag. There is a clear-cut distinction between the brightly lit procession of workers and the other, shadowy half of the picture, where the reactionary forces are presented: clergy, bourgeoisie, and military. The 1908 cover even has messianic overtones. It is entirely occupied by an anonymous drawing, technically uncertain but with a guaranteed impact: Truth conquering the last prisoners of superstition. A priest with caricatural features, a frightened woman and young man are struck by the light of the torch raised by a draped female figure, personifying Truth. To dispel any doubts as to the meaning of the scene, Truth tramples, on two huge tomes with clearly legible titles: «Bible» and «Dogma».

There are not many cartoons or satirical drawings in *Il garofano rosso*, but it is made more attractive graphically by a wide use of little friezes and plaquettes between one article and another, and sometimes also drawn initials.

In the same years, another series was published in Florence: *Avanziamoci...!*, similar to *Il garofano rosso* in the graphic care lavished on it, but with rather fewer images. The front of the 1903 issue presents another symbol of Progress, in the positivist tradition and mode: the locomotive. The subject of dozens of paintings and engravings of the last decade of the century, the locomotive is a smoke-emitting monster that represents scientific progress, the machine that can free man from his labour; by an exstension of the idea, it also stands for advancing socialism. The locomotive was however to remain a rare motif in the illustrations of the socialist papers, which, as we have already seen, preferred more traditional themes and symbols. In this drawing the locomotive advances amid two-coloured fumes, crushing priests, capitalism and the military under its steel wheels; the driver waves a red flag on which is written «Make way! Here comes Work», against the background of the rising sun that gives the composition its political definition.

In illustrations, the early years of the new century saw a progressive advance of the Art Nouveau style (or «Liberty», as it was called in Italy) which had already triumphed in painting and architecture. Translated into graphic terms, Art Nouveau led first of all to an emphasis on the outlines of the figures, which became sinuous and sharply contrasted, usefully simplifying the allegorical compositions. The socialist and democratic papers adapted themselves to the new fashion, wich ultimately led to a definitive shift away from the social realist figurative tradition of the second part of the 19th century, encouraging instead the use of symbolic languages. Aleardo Villa [23], using the forms and style of the new symbolist trend, created one of the most highly appreciated images of May-day. In fact, he invented the personification of the day itself in a full-page colour illustration produced for the Milanese paper *L'aurora del 1° maggio* (Ill. 9). In his allegory, Villa eliminated all the other characters: the radiant young woman with her arms folded over her breast and slender, elongated figure highlighted by an impalpable veil, stands alone at the centre of a wide landscape which forms a neutral background; even the rising sun is barely indicated by the long rays behind the youthful goddess. No caption, no explanatory story — Villa's image *is* May-Day.

Results like Aleardo Villa's expert drawing for the Milanese publication were the most advanced point of a still uneven situation. In 1904, *Il Piccone* of Casalmaggiore came out with an illustrated title which used the poor and by now old-fashioned technique of

xilography. The pick attacking the turreted wall, with the sun of socialism rising from its ruins, is one of the oldest motifs in radical and, hence, socialist iconography; among the Italian examples one may recall *Il Martello*, a Milanese publication of 1872. The anarchists in Pisa also illustrated the heading of their *Primo Maggio* of 1906 with a wood-cut, choosing symbols drawn from the masonic and radical repertory: torch, axe and broken chain, popularized in Italy by the dissemination of French images of the Revolution. The torch, used in masonic and anarchist symbology as the destructive emblem of the Furies, in the reformist socialist iconography becomes a symbol of Truth, Victory and Liberty; the axe will subsequently be little used. The open book, a symbol of fruitful study in the service of the Revolution (here reinforced by the presence of pen and inkpot) conversely was to become an integral part of the Socialist Party's iconography, especially after 1917, opposed to the hammer and sickle taken over from the Soviets.

We have mentioned the rarity of images in a realistic style. An exception is the Florentine *Avanziamoci...!* which in 1909 dedicated its front page to a drawing by G. Vannucci [24] entitled «After the First of May» (Ill. 10), illustrating a short story about the cruelty of class differences, in which the idleness of the bourgeoisie is contrasted with the workers exhaustion. The protagonists of the scene are a realistically portrayed stone-cutter and a character sporting a monocle, top-hat and waiscoat with a gold watch-chain, riding in an open carriage.

The reference to Gustave Courbet's Celebrated painting, *The Stone-breakers*, is only too obvious, although Vannucci's explicit intention here was to provide an image that would illustrate and complete the text.

Taken as a whole, the images published in the special May Day issues present an almost complete repetory of the symbols, allegories and themes recurrent in the graphic production of the workers and democratic movement in Italy. As already indicated, classical and allegorical suggestions predominate; amongst these, one should also note the motif of the horse, presented in 1908 and 1911 on the front page of *Avanziamoci...!* in Florence, and the Bolognese *Semente rossa*. In 14th- and 15th-century art the horse appears as the ideal form, a symbol of strength and controlled energy, of force guided by reason and the spirit, the embodiment of nobility of soul and vigour of thought. Linked in the two papers to the torch and the rising sun of socialism, and to allegorical figures — a nude youth, a young woman

carrying a fluttering flag — the animal also serves to ennoble the usual allegories of the socialist idea.

During the war years, illustrations for the May-Day publications lost their triumphal connotation. Ferocious anti-war cartoons were preferred, or melancholy allegories of war, or meditative and contemplative poses of the typical hero, who «rests, and by meditating prepares himself», as we read in the caption to the picture on the front page of the Turinese *Alba di Maggio* of 1915.

After the war, the number of publications for May-Day fell sharply and illustrations became rarer: a few cartoons, friezes with vegetal motifs, and carnations in the title. Already in 1922 the remaining special issues were illustrated with photographs of the victims of fascist aggressions, and then a few years later the publications became clandestine. During the long darkness of fascism, the clandestine publications developed a particular graphic style, with surprising openings towards the best international examples and the new themes coming from Soviet Russia.

Translated by Margaret Kunzle

1 Cf. Nicola Bernardini, *Guida della stampa periodica italiana*, Lecce, Salentina, 1890; Valerio Castronovo, *La stampa italiana dall'Unità al Fascismo*, Bari, Laterza, 1973; Franco Nasi, *100 anni di quotidiani milanesi*, Milano, *Quaderni della "Città di Milano", 1958.*

2 Cf. Rodolfo Namias, *I moderni processi fotomeccanici*, Manuali Hoepli, Milano, Hoepli, 1899.

3 On the non-governmental and democratic press, see Patrizia Audenino, *Cinquant'anni di stampa operaia. Dall'Unità alla guerra di Libia*, Torino, Guanda, 1976.

4 Photo mechanical reproductions still had the limitation of an irregular, screen structure which blurred the contrasts of the images and often produced blotching.

5 For complete account of the state of studies on the iconography and production of images linked to the lower classes, see Aurora Scotti, « La rappresentazione del lavoro nella pittura europea di fine Ottocento », in *Mezzosecolo*, IV part I, *Materiali di ricerca storica. Annali del centro studi P. Gobetti*, Torino, 1984, pp. 144-161.

6 On the features of the debate round the meaning of May-Day, see: Maurizio Antonioli, « La "data d'oro" del socialismo », in Andrea Panaccione ed., *Sappi che oggi è la tua festa...*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1986, pp. 15-50.

7 Vespasiano Bignami (Cremona, 1841, - Milan, 1929). The son of a well-known violinist and conductor, he studied at the Accademia in Carrara until 1862, when he moved to Milan. There he became a skilful caricaturist, close to the artists of the Scapigliatura movement. After about 1880 he was also active as a painter and organizer of artistic events.

8 Arturo Taddio (Trieste, 1859 - Varese, 1912) A draughtsman also active as a scultpor and architect. He provided illustrations for a number of specialized papers, and for political and trade union commemorative cards.

9 Taddio's drawing reappears in the issue of *Operaio Metallurgico* published in Milan for May-Day 1898, as an illustration on an inside page.

10 The reports of May-Day 1890 did not mention processions with a high number of participants or organized mass manifestations. Cf. Maurizio Antonioli, *op. cit.*, p. 23 and notes.

11 The subject of the procession and its final consecrationin Pellizza da Volpedo's Painting *The Fourth State* (1898-1901). In this connection, see Giuseppe Pellizza da Volpedo, *Il Quarto Stato*, ed. Aurora Scotti, Milano, Mazzotta, 1976.

12 On the iconography and symbolic representation linked to the French Revolution, see M. Agulhon, *Marianne au combat. L'imagerie et la symbolique républicaines de 1789 à 1880*, Paris, 1972.

13 Rodolfo Paoletti (Venice, 1866 — Milan ?). A self-taught artist, he began his career as an illustrator. In 1897 he made his debut at the Esposizione Annuale di Belle Arti di Brera, and over the following two decades was active also as a painter, participating in national and international exhibitions in Milan and Venice.

14 Gabriele Galantara, (Montelupone, 1865 — Rome, 1937) known under the pseudonym of Rata Langa, in this case signed himself R. Langa. An outstanding figure in the history of Italian and European political satire he was the inventor, together with Guido Podrecca, of the celebrated *Asino*. See Guido D. Neri, *Galantara*, Milano Feltrinelli, 1980 (2nd ed.).

15 Walter Crane (Liverpool, 1845 — London, 1915). Painter, draftsman and book illustrator, he was a member of the Arts and Crafts movement and made designs for materials and pottery. See E. Aslin, *The Aesthetic Movement*, London, 1969.

16 Giuseppe Scalarini (Mantua 1873 — Milan 1948). The founder in 1896 of the satirical review *Merlin Cocai*, he became famous in 1911, when he started to draw for *Avanti!* and *L'Asino*. A convinced socialist, he continued his work during the years of the Fascist regime, but was arrested and interned.

17 On the genesis of the iconography of the Passion Instruments, see L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, Paris, 1957, vol. II/2; on the use of the motif in a popular and working-class context, *Un'altra Italia nelle bandiere dei lavoratori*, Catalogue of the exhibition at Palazzo Carignano, Torino, 1981; and Giovanna Ginex, « Il muratore: tra realtà e simbolo. Storia di un'immagine negli anni della crescita urbana (1887-1906) », in *Milano e il suo territorio, Mondo popolare in Lombardia*, n. 13, Regione Lombardia, Milano, Silvana, 1986, p. 358 and notes.

18 The *Garofano rosso* appeared in 1900, 1901, 1903-1906, 1908-1910.

19 Giovanni Crotta (? — 1954). The illustrator of dozens of democratic and socialist texts and appreciated for his work during his lifetime, like most of the minor illustrators of the second half of the 19th century, has not been the subject of a complete study. For a detailed but still incomplete reconstruction of his work, see Giovanna Ginex, « Onestà, lavoro, fratellanza. Segni e iconografia della cooperazione lombarda », in *Cooperative in Lombardia dal 1886*, Milano, Unicopli, 1986, p. 133 and note 6.

20 Virgilio Faini does not appear in the biographical repertoires of artists and draftsmen. In terms of the publications examined so far, his activity seems to be limited to Tuscany.

21 Giovanni Costetti (Reggio Emilia 1874 — Florence 1949). Educated at the

Scuola di disegno in Reggio, he travelled abroad and studied painting and engraving, becoming a skilled draftsman.

22 Daniele Bongini, engraver and draftsman, does not appear in the biographical repertoires of artists and illustrators.

23 Aleardo Villa (Ravello, 1865 — Milan, 1906). He was educated at the Brera Academy and made his debut as a painter in 1891. He became well known for his paintings of women and, even more, for his advertising posters.

24 G. Vannucci does not appear in the biographical repertoires of artists and illustrators. His activity appears to have been limited to the Tuscan area.